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EUGENE ROGAN

THE FALL OF THE OTTOMANS:

THE GREAT WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

奥斯曼帝国的衰亡：一战中东，1914—1920

作者_ [英] 尤金·罗根

译者_ 王阳阳

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EUGENE ROGAN

The Fall Of The Ottomans□
The Great War In The Middle East

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THE FALL OF THE OTTOMANS: The Great War in the Middle East, 1914—1920

by Eugene Rogan

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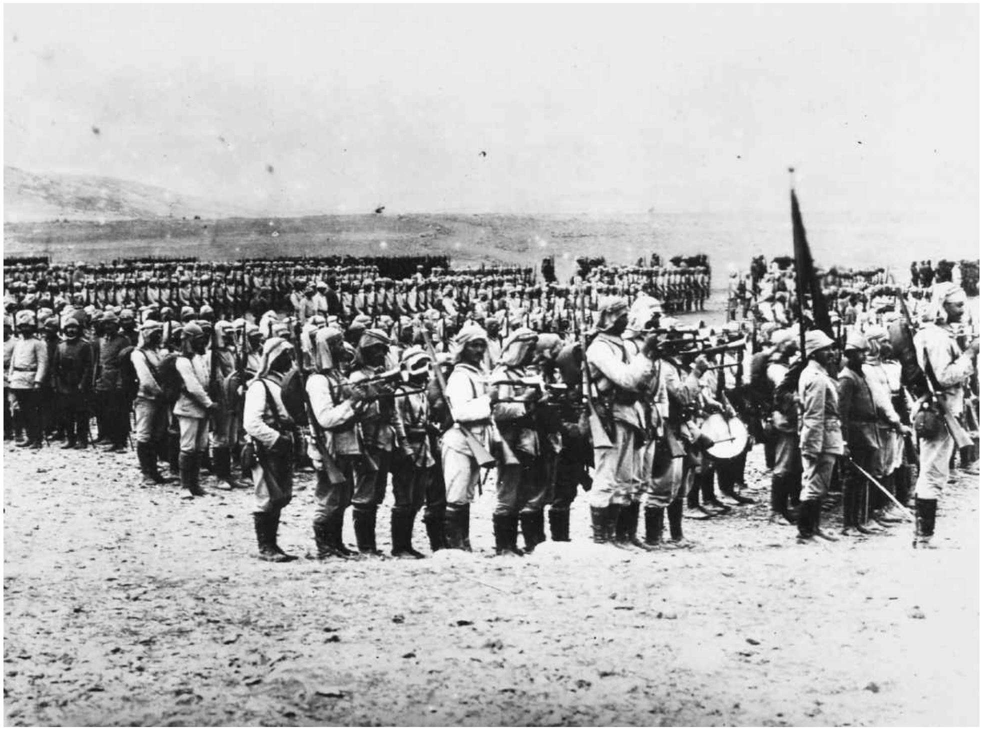

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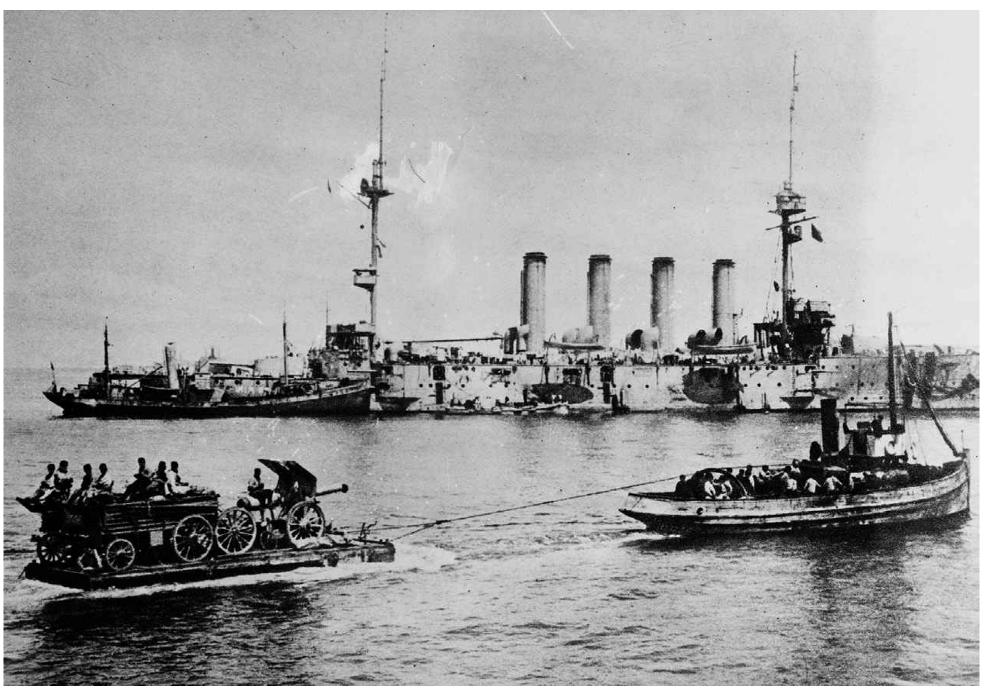

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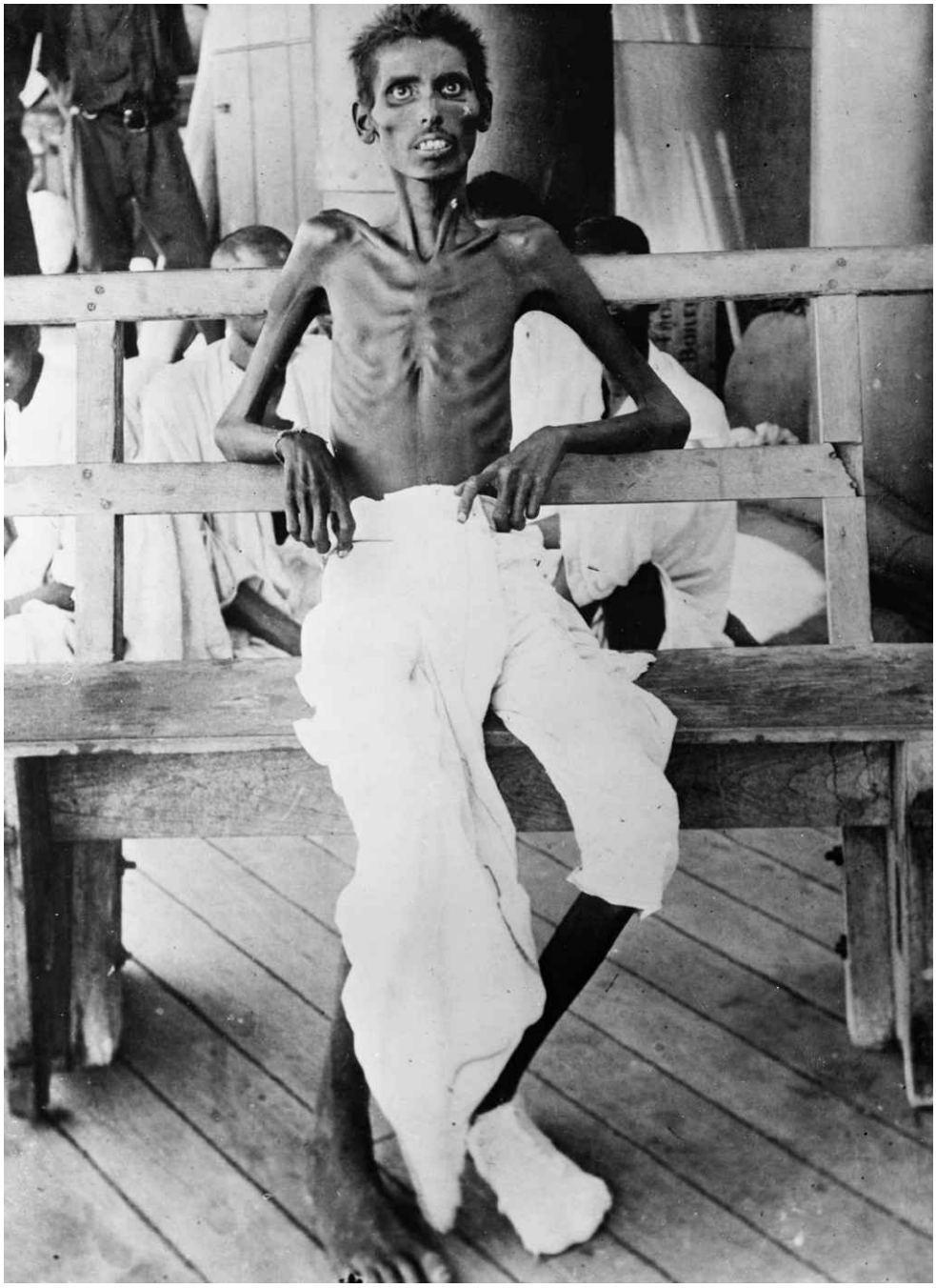

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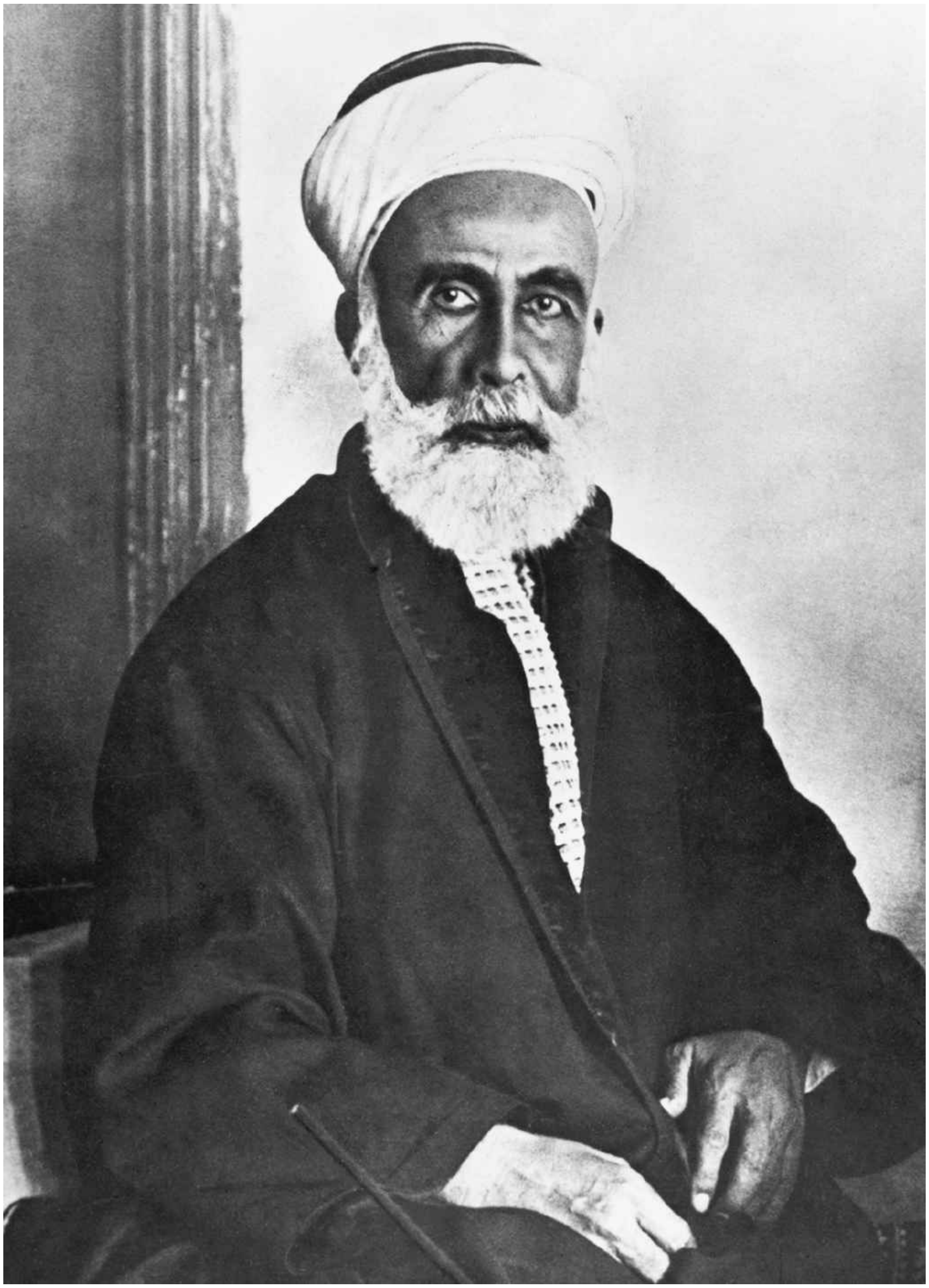

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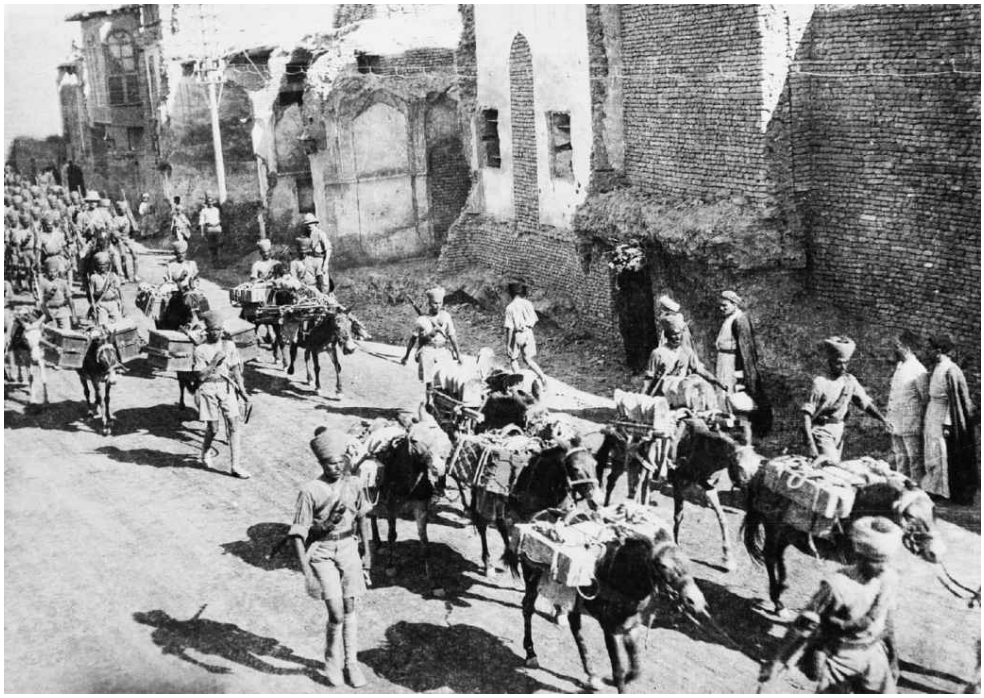

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巴格达
摩洛哥
的黎波里
大马士革
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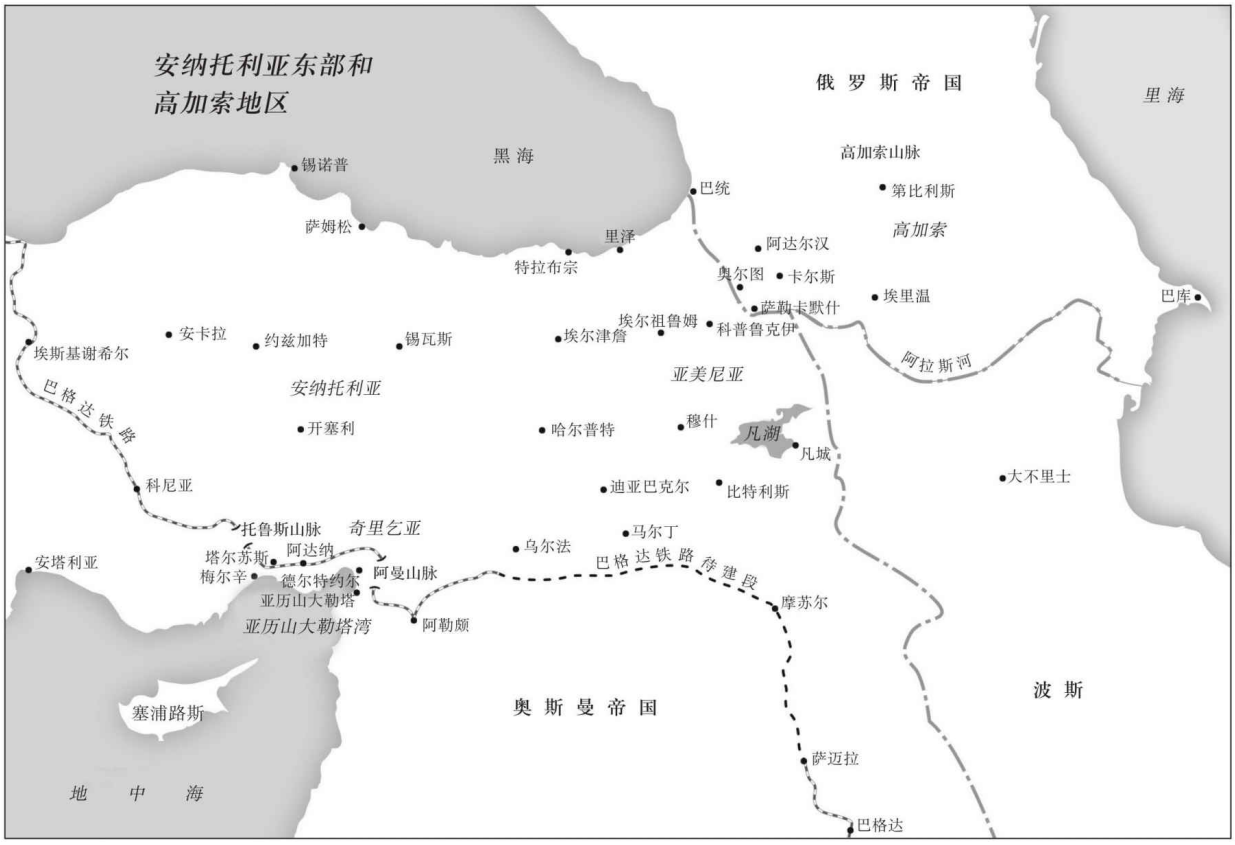
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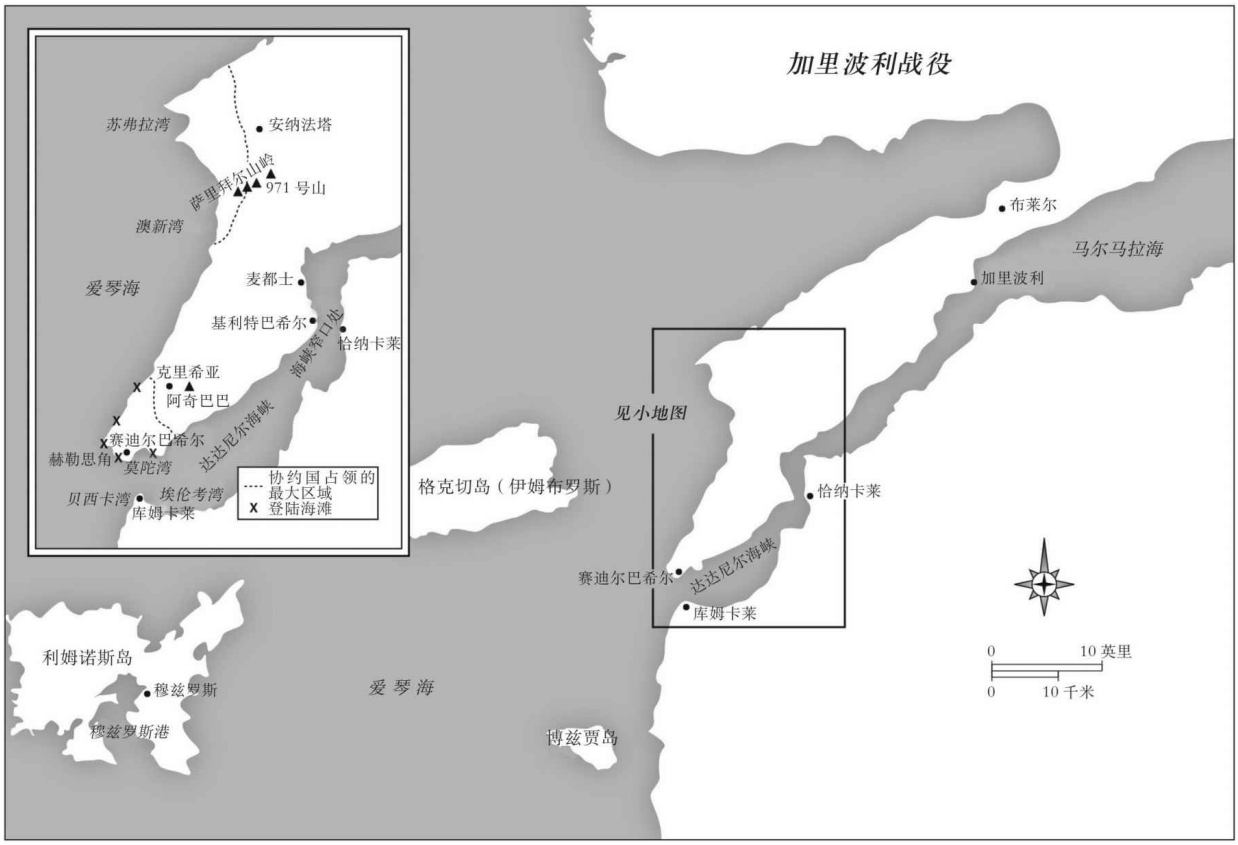
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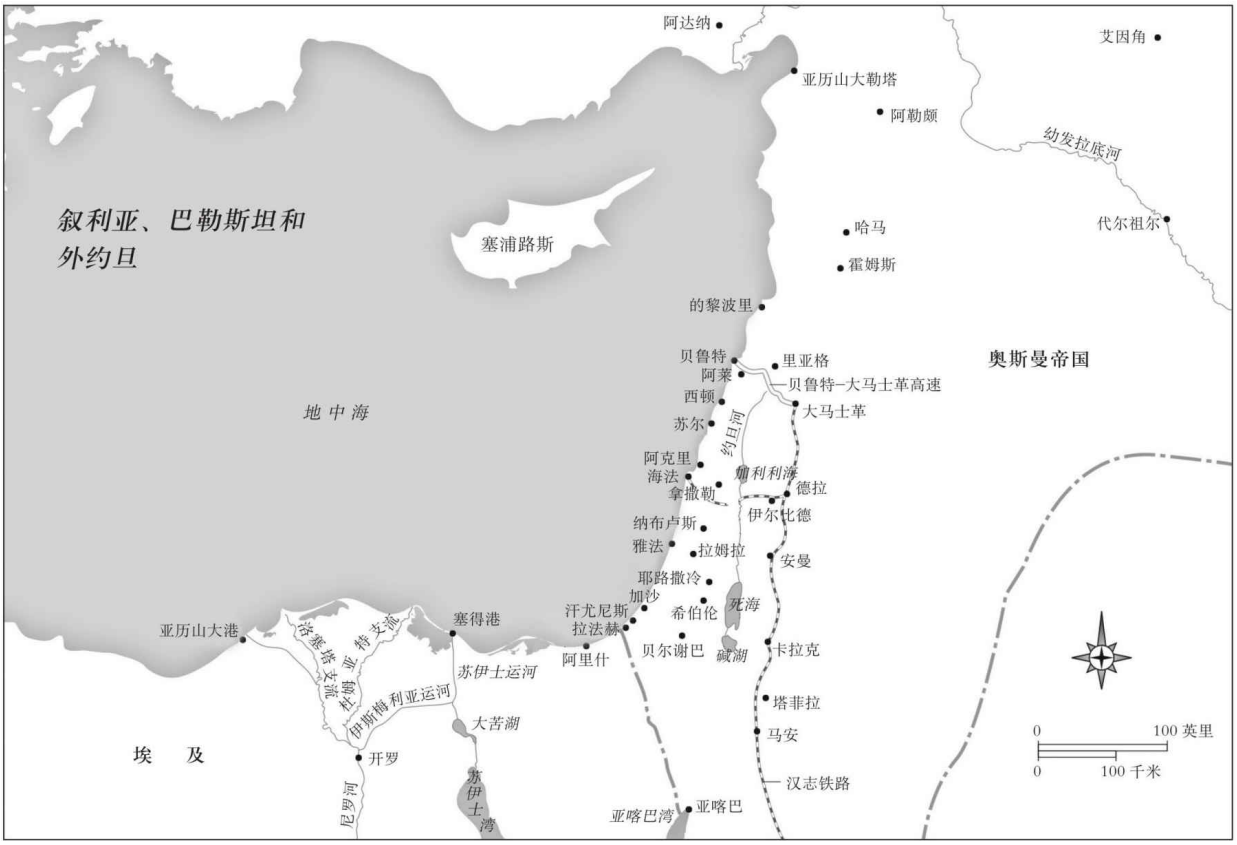

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[1] Colonel J. M. Findlay, *With the 8th Scottish Rifles*, 1914–1919 (London: Blockie, 1926), 21.

[2] Findlay, *With the 8th Scottish Rifles*, 34.

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[18] W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoffff, *Caucasian Battlefields: A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828–1921* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 252. Larcher15–9–6 Larcher, La guerre turque, 283.

[19] Ilden, Sarıkamış, 151–152, and Larcher, La guerre turque, 383–384.

[20] Eti, *Bir onbaşının... günlüğü*, 102–103.

[21] Eti, *Bir onbaşının...günlüğü*, 104.

[22] Eti, *Bir onbaşının...günlüğü*, 104.

[23] 12–23–31–32–Fevzi Çakmak, *Büyük Harp'te Şark Cephesi Harekâtı* [] (Istanbul: Türkiye Iş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 76 2,000 Ilden, Sarıkamiş, 167–168 Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 257Larcher, *La guerre turque*, 386.

[24] Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 258Çakmak, *Büyük Harp*, 77.

[25] Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 260–268Larcher, *La guerre tur- que*, 387–388.

[26] Ilden, *Sarıkamış*, 212–213.

[27] Ilden, *Sarıkamış*, 177–179.

[28] 12–26 Ilden, *Sarıkamış*, 191–201.

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[30] Eti, *Bir onbaşının... günlüğü*, 121–122. 77,000 6 Çakmak, *Büyük Harp*, 113–114Allen and Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 283–284.

[31] ·the memoirs of IX Corps chief of staff Şerif Ilden, Ilden, *Sarıkamış*, 149, 158–159, 174–175, 208, 216–218, 232Sâbis, *Harp Hatıralarım*, 302–317Liman von Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey*, 40.

[32] Allenand Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, 286–287.

[33] Georges Douin, *L'attaque du canal de Suez* (3 Février 1915) (Paris: librairie delagrave, 1922), 45–46.

[34] Djemal Pasha, *Memories*, 154.

[35] Douin, *L'attaque*, 60.

[36] Shakib Arslan, *Sira Dhatiyya* [](Beirut: Dar al-Tali` a, 1969), 141–147.

[37] Djemal Pasha, *Memories*, 152.

[38] Antonin Jaussen Port Said Jaussen Hijaz Douin, *L'attaque* 77–79. Jaussen Henry laurens,"Jaussen et les services de renseignement français (1915–1919)," in *Antonin Jaussen: Sciences sociales occidentales et patrimoine arabe*, ed. Géraldine Chatelard and Mohammed Tarawneh (Amman: CERMOC, 1999), 23–35.

[39] Douin, *L'attaque*, 79–80; George McMunn and Cyril Falls, *Military Operations: Egypt and Palestine from the Outbreak of War with Germany to June 1917* (London: HMSO: 1928), 29.

[40] McMunn and Falls, *Military Operations*, 25.

[41] IWM, P 158, private papers of Lieutenant Colonel H. V. Gell, Documents 10048, diary entries of 24 to 28 January 1915.

[42] NARA, Istanbul vol. 293,"The Egyptian Campaign of the Turkish Army," S. Edelman 1915 3 20

[43] IWM, RN, P 389, papers of Commander H. V. Coates, Documents 10871, translations of Ottoman army orders for the attack on the Suez Canal, 1 February 1915.

[44] Douin, *L'attaque*, 92.

[45] *Daughter of Damascus*(Austin: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1994), 166–199 180

[46] Douin, *L'attaque*, 96 McMunn and Falls, *Military Operations*, 39 "" Mujahid Serapeum IWM, RN P 389, papers of Commander H. V. Coates.

[47] Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, 181.

[48] Ahmad Shafiq, *Hawliyat Masr al-siyasiyya* [] (Cairo: Shafiq Pasha Press, 1926), 1:81.

[49] Douin, *L'attaque*, 100–102 McMunn andFalls, *Military Operations*, 43–45.

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[52] Suleyman Askeri Philip H. Stoddard,"The Ottoman Government and the Arabs, 1911 to 1918: A Preliminary Study of the Teşkilât-i Mahsusa" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1963), 119–130 Muhammad Amin "The Turco-British Campaign in Mesopotamia and Our Mistakes," in *The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914–1918*, comp. F. J. Moberly (London: HMSO, 1923), 1:352–355.

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[54] Arnold T. Wilson, *Loyalties Mesopotamia, 1914–1917* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 34 Charles Townshend, *When God Made Hell: The British Invasion of Mesopotamia and the Creation of Iraq, 1914–1921* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 88.

[55] Edward J. Erickson *Ordered to Die* 110–111. F. J. Moberly 161 901 6000 2000 — F. J. Moberly, comp., *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, 1914–1918,(London: HMSO, 1923), 1:217.Wilson, *Loyalties Mesopotamia*, 34, 1257 "" The quote is from the diary of W. C. Spackman, quoted in Townshend, When God Made Hell, 89.

[56] Sir George McMunn, quoted in Townshend, When God Made Hell, 80; Wilson, *Loyalties Mesopotamia*, 34, ""

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[14] Letter of 20 June 1915, in Leymonnerie, *Journal d'un poilu*, 107.

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[17] Leymonnerie, *Journal d'un poilu*, 105.

[18] IWM, private papers of R. Eardley, Documents 20218, typescript memoir, 25–26.

[19] IWM, private papers of B. Bradshaw, Documents 14940. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□6□□9□□□□□□ 1915□6□10□□□□□□□□

[20] A. P. Herbert, reprinted in Hamilton, *From Gallipoli to Gaza*, 79.

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[22] Leymonnerie, *Journal d'un poilu*, 122; Fasih, Gallipoli 1915, 66.

[23] IWM, private papers of H. Corbridge, Documents 16453, diary entries of 14 June, 28 June, 12 July, and 7 August. On 14 August, he recorded"17 W[ounded], 85 M[ental] cases today". For the account of a man evacuated for shell shock, see IWM, private papers of M. O. F. England, Documents 13759.

[24] Arıkan, *Harp Hatıralarım*, 54–55.

[25] Emin Çöl, *Çanakkale Sina Savaşları: bir erin anıları* [□□□□□□□□□□: □□□□□](Istanbul: Nöbetçi Yayınevi, 2009), 53.

[26] IWM, private papers of H. Corbridge, Documents 16453, diary entry of 7 August 1915.

[27] IWM, private papers of R. Eardley, Documents 20218, memoir, 29–33. □□□□□□□□□□□

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[45] Çöl, *Çanakkale*, 62–63.

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[5] Nixon's orders of 24 March 1915, 30 March 1915, and 31 March 1915 are reproduced in F. J. Moberly *The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914–1918* (London: HMSO, 1923), 1:194–195.

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[7] Ali Jawdat, *Dhikrayati, 1900–1958* [□□□□□□1900–1958] (Beirut: al-Wafa', 1968), 31–36.

[8] Moberly, in *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, 1:297, □□□□□□□□□533□□ Captain R. L. Lecky□□□□□□□□□□□□□1200□□IWM, Captain R. L. Lecky, Documents 21099, diary entry for 24 July 1915.

[9] Crewe quoted in Moberly, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, 1:303–304.

[10] Moberly, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, 1:303–304.

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[13] Younghusband, *Forty Years a Soldier*, 274.

[14] Bidwell,"Turkish Attack on Aden 1915–1918," 180.

[15] Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, 180.

[16] Both Townshend and Duff are quoted by *When God Made Hell: The British Invasion of Mesopotamia and the Creation of Iraq, 1914–1921* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 120. □□□□□□□□ *When God Made Hell*□□□□—□□□□□□□Charles Townshend□□□□□□Charles Townshend□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[17] Edward J. Erickson, *Gallipoli and the Middle East, 1914–1918: From the Dardanelles to Mesopotamia* (London: Amber Books, 2008), 133.

[18] □□□□ J. McK. Sloss□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Harold Treloar□□□□□□□□□Atkins□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□IWM, private papers of J. McK. Sloss, MSM Australian Flying Corps, Documents 13102.

[19] Reynolds Lamont Lecky□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□,□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□120 □□□□□□Rajputana□□□□□ IWMIWM, Documents 21099.

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[21] Kitchener is quoted in Townshend, *When God Made Hell*, 140–141; F. J. Moberly, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia, 1914–1918* (London: HMSO, 1924), 2:15.

[22] Moberly, *The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, 2:28.

[23] Wardi, *Lamahat*, 4:224.

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Salman al-Farsi□□ Salman the Persian. Wardi, *Lamahat*, 4:224.

[25] IWM, Lecky diary, entry of 29 October 1915.

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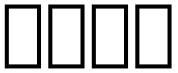

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IMAGE 1 Minaret from which Turks fired on Christians: George Grantham Bain Collection, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress (hereafter Bain Collection Library of Congress), LC-DIG-ggbain-50066.

IMAGE 2 Recruiting for the "Holy War" near Tiberias: World War I in Palestine and Syria, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-13709-00009.

IMAGE 3 Prisoners at Zossen: Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-18446.

IMAGE 4 Ottoman prisoners in Ardahan: Photo by Roger Viollet/Getty Images, 159147188.

IMAGE 5 Ottoman soldiers in Palestine before the first attack on the Suez Canal: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, Saunders Collection, Alb 5-4-003.

IMAGE 6 Turk Battery, Gallipoli: Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-20341.

IMAGE 7 Sinking of "Irresistible": Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-110854.

IMAGE 8 Australian troops landing at Anzac Beach on the morning of April 25, 1915: Imperial War Museum, Q 112876.

IMAGE 9 Mustapha Kemal in Gallipoli: Imperial War Museum, Q 101744.

IMAGE 10 Grigoris Balakian, 1913: Permission of Peter Balakian, Balakian Family Archive.

IMAGE 11 Mehmed Talat Pasha in 1915: General Photographic Agency/Hulton Archive/Getty Images, #52782735.

IMAGE 12 Armenian widows, Turkey, September 1915: Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-03954.

IMAGE 13 Landing an artillery piece at Gallipoli: Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-19425.

IMAGE 14 Turkish soldiers, Gallipoli: Bain Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-20342.

IMAGE 15 Anzac soldiers in a bayonet charge in Gallipoli: Imperial War Museum, Q 13659.

IMAGE 16 Royal Irish Fusilier teasing Turkish snipers in Gallipoli: Imperial War Museum, Q 13447.

IMAGE 17 Evacuation of guns and personnel from Suvla: Imperial War Museum, Q 13637.

IMAGE 18 British boat bridge across the Euphrates at Nasiriyya: Imperial War Museum, Q 34379.

IMAGE 19 Turkish infantry launching a counter-attack: Imperial War Museum, HU 94153.

IMAGE 20 A weakened survivor of the siege of Kut: Imperial War Museum, Q 79446.

IMAGE 21 Sharif Husayn of Mecca (c 1854–1931): Imperial War Museum, Q 59888.

IMAGE 22 Enver Pasha and Cemal Pasha in Jerusalem, February 1916: World War I in Palestine and Syria, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-13709-00069.

IMAGE 23 Amir Faysal's camp at dawn, Nakhl Mubarak, near Yanbu: Imperial War Museum, Q 58838.

IMAGE 24 Ottoman cavalry charge: World War I in Palestine and Syria, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-13709-00187.

IMAGE 25 The fall of Baghdad: Imperial War Museum, Q 24196.

IMAGE 26 Regimental standard presented to victorious Ottoman forces after the First Battle of Gaza, March 1917: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, Estelle Blyth Collection, PA-1-995-006.

IMAGE 27 The Imperial Camel Corps in Sinai: Imperial War Museum, Q 105525.

IMAGE 28 British tanks destroyed in the Second Battle of Gaza: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-matpc-05792 and LC-DIG-matpc-05793.

IMAGE 29 The entry of Arab forces into 'Aqaba, July 6, 1917: Imperial War Museum, Q 59193.

IMAGE 30 Ruins of the main mosque in Gaza, 1917: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, Estelle Blyth Collection, PA-1-995-016.

IMAGE 31 The mayor of Jerusalem encounters his first British soldiers, December 9, 1917: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, Jerusalem and East Mission Slide B ox4-022.

IMAGE 32 General Allenby's proclamation read in British-occupied Jerusalem: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, PA-1-603-001.

IMAGE 33 Ottoman prisoners near Tulkarm, Palestine, September 22, 1918: Imperial War Museum, Q 12326.

IMAGE 34 The 2nd Light Horse Regiment enters Damascus: Imperial War Museum, Q 12379.

IMAGE 35 Horsemen of the Arab army enter Damascus, October 1, 1918: Imperial War Museum, Q 105670.

IMAGE 36 Proclaiming the Armistice in central Baghdad, October 31, 1918: Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, Oxford, Bowman Collection, Album 2-05-2.

IMAGE 37 Amir Faysal at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919: Imperial War Museum, Q 105615.

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THE GREAT WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

19 世纪以来，曾几何时，一度地跨欧亚非三大洲的奥斯曼帝国沦为“欧洲病夫”，成为欧洲列强垂涎争夺的砧上肉。在一次世界大战中，他们付出的战斗与牺牲也被西方国家不屑一顾。

然而，因为奥斯曼帝国的介入，这场欧洲纷争才真正演变成世界大战。现在是时候恢复奥斯曼帝国在一战和现代中东历史上应有的地位了。

本书是理解现代中东演变和当下萦绕该地区几乎一切矛盾的必备读物。

—— 阿里·阿拉维（《占领伊拉克：赢了战争，输了和平》作者）

通过战争亲历者的视角，尤金·罗根为我们讲述了一战中东的重大军事政治斗争。从奥斯曼帝国向俄国开战这一灾难性行动，到被驱逐的亚美尼亚人的苦难；从英国入侵阿拉伯半岛，到阿拉伯人起义及奥斯曼帝国最终的分崩离析，战壕里的恐怖经历和大后方的惶恐生活相互交织，揭示了一段充满死亡气息的动荡历史。

——穆斯塔法·阿克萨卡（现代土耳其研究协会会长及乔治敦大学历史学副教授）

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